I. REGION OF MOZAMBIQUE

YAO, MAKUA-LOMWE, MAKONDE

In the region between Lake Nyasa and the east coast of Africa, between the Lukuledi river in the north and the Zambesi in the south, there is a congeries of peoples whose culture is very similar over the whole area. They are the *Makonde* group, the *Yao* and the *Makua-Lomwe* peoples. Of these only the Yao has been studied in detail. The scanty information about the other inhabitants of the region will be summarized after the fuller summary of the Yao material, so that points of similarity and difference may appear more clearly. Fortunately for this procedure the Yao occupy a central position, from which they may be taken to represent in many ways the culture of the neighbouring peoples.

The *Makonde* inhabit the Makondi plateau between the Lukuledi and Ruvuma rivers (39° and 41° longitude). Closely related to them are the *Matia*, on the plateau of that name, south of the Ruvuma; the *Mwera*, north of the Lukuledi river, on the Rondo plateau; and the *Matambwe*, in the Ruvuma valley. It is possible that the *Ngindo*, *Ndonde*, and *Ndendule* should also be included. This group seems to be culturally and linguistically distinct in several points from the Makua and Lomwe, and the Yao, although they have in common the main features of political and social organization.

The region of the *Yao* is between the Ruvuma, Lujenda, and Luchilingo rivers. They also extend into Nyasaland and Tanganyika Territory.

The *Makua* occupy the area between the Lujenda and Lurio rivers and the coastal strip from the mouth of the Lurio nearly to Quilimane.

The *Lomwe* are sometimes regarded as a sub-branch of the Makua, but probably have as much right to be called a separate tribe as the Yao. They are bordered by the Makua on the north, east, and south, and by Marevi on the west. South of them, around Quilimane and east of the Mlanje[1] mountains, are the *Chuabo*,[2] related to the Makua and Lomwe, and also the Podzo, on the south bank of the Zambesi delta.

The region is forested lightly or heavily, and varies in character according to the *elevation, soil, and humidity*. The coastal belt from Mozambique northwards has thorn-bush vegetation, thick in parts, giving way to light forest and grassland farther inland. In the uplands there is good forest, broad-leaved and evergreen, and deciduous trees near the lake district. Throughout the territory there are narrow *strips of richer* vegetation along the watercourses, and along the coast mangrove swamps occur at intervals. In the highlands the mornings and evenings are cool and pleasant for eight months of the year, and it is even cold at night in May and August, temperatures of 50° and 60° F. being common in the day. In the hot season the heat is severe, especially in the valley of the Ruvuma. The mean annual rainfall for Mozambique is 39.50 in. and for Likoma on the lake, 39.5 in.[3]

The people are primarily cultivators, but the Yao keep cattle in the highlands. Both Yao and Makua traded with the Arabs and were energetic slave-raiders. The coast Makua and most of the Yao are Islamized.

[1] *c pronounced as ch.* [2] *Handbook of Portuguese East Africa*, 1920, pp. 68–77.

[P.1]

1: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FT7 Yao FT7

performed these services used to enter a special relationship of privileged familiarity with the village of the dead. This has died out in Nyasaland, but accounts of *Utani*[1] among the Yao at Masasi and Songea suggest that something of the kind is still practised.

Chiefs and headmen are not buried outside the village, as are other persons. They used to be buried before their own huts, but now in the centre of the village. Shrines were raised over their graves, at which offerings of beer and flour were made. If the village was moved the pot of beer sunk into the ground at the chief's grave was also removed and reinstated at the new site. A dead slave was buried by his fellow slaves; normal rights of sepulture were denied to suicides and to persons who had died in taking the poison ordeal (that is, convicted sorcerers).[2]

OTHER DISTINCTIVE CULTURAL FEATURES

The Yao have a tribal mark of two short cuts on each side of the face between the eye and the ear.[3] Their women did not wear the *pelele*, lip-ring, although their neighbours the Makua and Makonde did;[4] the fashion seems to have spread to south Nyasa in the 1880's, as many travellers commented on it, without distinguishing whether the wearers were Yao, Nyanja, or Lomwe.[5] The women used to pierce the left *ala nasi* and insert a metal or lead stud, *cipini*.[6]

MAKUA-LOMWE

TRIBAL AND SUB-TRIBAL GROUPINGS AND DEMOGRAPHY

Nomenclature

The *Ma-* in *Makua* is not a prefix, but part of the name. Variant spellings are *Makoa*, *Makoa*, *Makoma*. They are sometimes referred to by the name of one subdivision, the Mudo Makua, and called *Amito* or *Metto*.[7]

The *Lomwe* (also spelt *Lomwi*) are called *Alolo* by the Yao, and are also frequently called *Anguru* (*Nguru*) which is an old name for the people of the region.[8] Any of the *Makua-Lomwe* peoples who have migrated into south Nyasaland are collectively termed *Nguru* in official reports; Nguru is a hill in the region of Portuguese East Africa, whence they came, but they should not be confused with the Nguru of Tanganyika.[9] Another name for them is *Anilomo*.[10] *Alolo* is incorrectly applied to all the Lomwe; it has a stricter application to the Cuabo from Quilimane.

[1] Rattray, 1938; Mauny, 1950; Spire, 1950.
[2] Main sources for burial are: Johnston, J., 1922, pp. 28–30; Freeman, A. 1912, pp. 140–4; Abdallah, 1919, pp. 19–21; Duff, 1905, pp. 320–2; Macdonald, 1882, vol. i, pp. 110–12.
[3] Mauny, 1950, p. 123.
[4] Thompson, 1881, pp. 39–8, writing of the Yao of the Ruvuma valley.
[5] Macdonald, 1882, vol. i, pp. 16–17; 'around Mponyo hardly any woman is without it'.
[6] Freeman, A., 1912, p. 326.
[7] *Handbook of Portuguese Nyasaland*, 1921, p. 31; Mauny, 1950, p. 56; Wade, J., 1919, p. 129; Livingstone, 1874, p. 50.
[8] Thiel, 1891, pp. 272–7; Gaspar Bocarro passed through Mangaro country. Burton, 1873 (Lacerda's Journey, 1798), mentions Mangaros.
[9] Abraham, 1951, p. 11; Mauny, 1950, p. 46.
[10] Johnston, H. H., n. d., 1899.

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

843 842 *Pregnancy and childbirth.* An event of the first importance in the Yao world is the first conception or rather the "quickening" with the first child, *Lilaw*; this is described below, together with the other ceremonies of the *Unyago*.[1] After the ceremony of *Lilaw*, the period of waiting until the birth of the child passes without further event. A point of medical interest is that native women suffer in many cases from "morning sickness" during pregnancy. That they may have perverted appetites is also recognized, grain husks and crabs being among the things most commonly desired. As the Anyanja,[2] the Yao believe that the child develops from the semen of the male, although the growth of the child is in some way connected with the mother.

[71]

844 When labor commences, the woman retires to the bush a few hundred yards away from her house, attended by some friend, seldom a midwife, and never by her own people, though the mother and the mother-in-law will probably be near the spot. If labor is not completed by evening, they return to the house and the birth may take place actually within its walls.

[71] The attitude assumed in labor is the same as that adopted by the Anyanja,[3] the patient semi-reclining in the arms of another woman who sits behind, grasping her belly. The vulva is smeared with a decoction made from the bark of the *mpoza* tree as a lubricant, but no other help is given. *Kumisili* is the name given to the place of confinement; *m'lisili* means the house where the woman remains for a period after the confinement. The Yao recognize the protruding bag of amniotic fluid and call it the "oil-gourd". "*Chisasi chikanicho?* (The oil-gourd, has it broken?)." They wait until the placenta is delivered before dividing the cord. This is done with the sharp edge of the outer covering of a maize stalk or sugar cane; a knife is never used. The section is made near the placenta or half-way between it and the child, after tying the proximal end with a bark string.

The woman who receives the child at birth is the *anhamnyo*, friend or godmother. If the infant is born in the bush, she carries it back to the house whither they go as soon as labor is completed. The mother herself, unless she is very ill, goes out shortly afterwards and buries the placenta in the ash-heap, using a stick to dig the hole, never a hoe.

847 After the birth, the mother and child must remain in the house until the umbilical cord separates, during which time the husband does not enter, though he may come to the door to look in at the child.

[852] [853] [309] The day on which exit from the house is made, the floor is entirely replastered with mud. The baby's head is shaved and a cross is made upon it with *ngwena*, a kind of red pigment. The husband may then receive the child and in the case of a first-born, it is he who gives it its name; other children may be named by the *anhamnyo*, the mother, or the aunt.

When the mother leaves the house to appear in public, the midwife who put her *lilaw* on,[4] removes it.

So long as the infant remains in the house, care must be taken as to persons allowed to handle it. A woman who has recently had a menstrual period or coition with her husband,

[1] Vide infra, p. 304. [2] Stannus, op. cit., p. 246. [3] Ibid. [4] Vide infra, p. 304.

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

The *wali* thus remain for about a month under the care of their guardians, during which time they receive most valuable instruction as to their behavior to others, especially to their elders and to members of the opposite sex. Their faults are brought home to them and many little pieces of advice given. They are taught the household duties which will be their lot thenceforth and they are forewarned of approaching puberty and what it means to them. [88]

During this period their child-names are not used and until their new names are assigned to them, they are called after birds and animals, generally some of the smaller animals, e.g. *Anyingalwe* (*mpingalwe* = the shrew rat), *Alitawala* (*kitawala* = a big species of rat), *Analyelye* (*nyelyelye* = the shrew). I have been unable to ascertain whether these have any totemistic significance. [55]

The girls are usually given a fright to impress on them the danger of lions; one night an imitation of a lion approaching their enclosure is made when all is dark; then all of a sudden one of the elders armed with big thorns instead of claws will spring upon one of the girls, generally picking out the worst behaved.

When the term of instruction is completed, they again adjourn to *Chipoto* for two days where *Unyago* is danced on the first night by women, on the second night by men. The first day is spent by a party of men and women in the bush, preparing figures of animals and their dress for the dance. The women wear a small garment of bark-cloth called *mutuleguisole*, a word which literally means "buttocks of a frog" but which is used with the meaning of trousers and refers in this case to the fact that the bark-cloth is sewn round the upper part of each thigh into a garment like a pair of knickerbockers. Round the abdomen and chest are worn bands made of short pieces of small, decorticated millet stalks; similar bands are worn on the legs and arms, two on each thigh, two on the leg, one at the wrist, below the elbow, and one round the upper arm. In the dark these give the body the appearance of being painted in alternate bands of black and white. They also wear a headdress of the same material. [292] [30]

On the first evening of the return to *Chipoto*, this party of women appears after dark; they dance in a row, advancing and retiring in step, swinging their arms and moving their bodies to exclamations of *Hi-di! Hi-di!* Other women dress up as men, wearing long beards made of *likanga*, a kind of fibre plant.

The second night, the representations of animals made of grass and bamboo framework supported by men appear, the elephant, the rhinoceros, and various antelopes being the common figures, also the zebra made of painted bark cloth. These animal figures are similar to the *singwe* or *cingwe* of the *Anyanja* and to those of the *Awisa*,[1] but the custom is unknown among the Yao. [177]

During all these proceedings at *Chipoto*, the *wali* remind me more than ever of spectators and are duly frightened by the performances of the last two days.

[1] Stannus, 'Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa,' op. cit., p. 296.

3:Stanmus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

137 278 *mpilo* is a more deadly poison and is not used in the poison ordeal but is administered with intent to murder; it is usually given mixed with beer or in porridge. Death is said to be assured in a few hours. *Lipembele*: the Yao name of beetles belonging to the genus *Mylabris*, found in large numbers in June and July in the native gardens where they do much damage to the bean crops. The name is, I think, more especially applied to a species with yellow bands, those with red markings being said to be harmless. These beetles are prepared for poisoning food by frying and then grinding into a powder. In this form, they are administered with intent to murder or they may be taken *for suicidal purposes*, five or six beetles being used. These beetles contain cantharidin in a greater proportion than cantharis itself. The symptoms described by the natives as occurring after exhibition are constipation followed by high fever, and death eight hours later. This same beetle is known to other tribes and in the *ceuwe* of the Anyanja.

136 278

The bile of the crocodile, *ngwepe* (*ndulo*, Chin.); *ngwepe* and *ndulo* also are used, meaning the gall-bladder. Crocodile gall has the reputation of being a powerful poison over nearly the length and breadth of Africa. It is known, I think, to all the tribes in Nyasaland. In this district, they qualify their beliefs by saying that the bile of crocodiles from Lakes Chilwa and Chiuta which do not eat men is not poisonous. The poison is also said not to be used on the Lower Shiré River where, and where only, crocodiles are eaten as food by the natives. Among the Yao, the gall-bladder is removed with the contained gall, dried, and then ground in a little mortar or on a stone. The dose of the powder is said to be as much as would cover a sixpence. Symptoms are said to be great pain in the stomach, swelling and discoloration of the tongue, and loss of speech. Public destruction of the gall-bladder of any crocodile which has been killed is said to be the custom on the West Coast of Africa, and the same is true of some tribes in Nyasaland as at Kotakota, but so far as I am aware, this is not done among the Yao.

[F7]

The gall of other animals is similarly used, but among the Yao I am not quite certain of the species. Lipiri, the puff-adder, *certainly* is utilized, and I think other snakes, such as *Nahakukuti*, a grey, ash coloured snake, *Linga*, a water-snake six feet long, and *Sungu*, the scowling-snake. Certain lizards are also employed, such as *Likumbumbu*, and frogs, both *Chisolo* and the running frog, *Chinsenswa*. Scorpions too have found a place among poisonous preparations, as it is said, and likewise, the bile of some mammals. Bamboo fibre, animal hair, the bones of fish, and ground glass, I have also heard mentioned as being administered with the desire to produce a fatal result.

Papal cases made of twigs and the contained pupa (species of the family of *Papilionidae*) called *chikwangu* or *chikwa ngwi* (from *kwa-kwa*, "to eat" and *ngwi*, "fire-wood") are said when eaten by cattle to cause death. I cannot vouch for the truth of this nor can I say whether they are ever given to men.

137 278 A wild yam, *mkwa* (*mulapa*, Chin.) is poisonous if not well boiled and the water thrown away, but is not used as a poison so far as I know. The name is true of *ngwepe*, a kind of cassava.

3: Stanton D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Tao FT7

never leave any food outside at night, not even the chaff from the grain she has been pounding, lest these most miserable of beings be attracted by it.

Chiloso is a word common to several tribes and among them appears to have various shades of meaning. Among the Wayao, the three are "the little people" of the leprechaun order. They rob the gardens and swear not among the pumpkins; their little footprints can be seen where they have passed hither and thither; fruits and vegetables that they touch will become bitter. To prevent these disasters, the Yao, at the time when their crops are ripening, place different kinds of vegetables at cross-roads, hoping thereby to satisfy the three and prevent them coming into the gardens. As far as I am aware, the three have nothing to do with famine and are in no way connected with *Mlungu*, to be mentioned below, as Macdonald believed.[1] The chiloso is variously said to be "like a man but rather like an animal." He has two legs but goes on all fours.

The Yao describe another legendary race of "little people" who used to live in this country and who may still be met with, — "who knows?" They were of a very small stature, grew long beards, were very touchy, quarrelsome, and fierce, and carried spears. When anybody met one, he was immediately asked: "*Mwenkonde kompi?*", "From how far did you see me?" and it was always well to pretend to have seen the little man coming a long way off and make him believe he was considered quite a big person; if you said "Hello, I have only just spotted you!", he would immediately spear you. They are commonly supposed to dwell on the tops of high mountains and are iron workers. They are called the *Mwenkonde kompi*.

There is no relation as far as I know between these two classes of "little people," but I think these stories go to uphold the theory recently reiterated by Hastings Gulliford in his Huntarian Lecture (1914) that folk-lore fables of hobgoblins, etc., have a basis in fact. He believes that dwarf races at one time were to be found, possibly over a very wide area of the globe. In this country, I think it may be that one sees the transition from historical facts to true fairy stories.

The Anyanja have the same legend about these "little people," the second recorded of "where did you see me"?; it is looked not only wide-spread throughout this country, (the Ahenga and Ankonde in North Nyasa district speak of the *mwenkiwenende* who ask the same question), but there is a very similar legend among the Akikuyu in British East Africa.[2]

The *chiloso* is doubtless the *chiwezi* of the Anyanja, mentioned in Scott's dictionary,[3] as Miss Werner[4] has supposed, for one finds that among the Anyanja at the southern end of the Protectorate, the *chiwezi* is described as having only one side to his body so that he is invisible when viewed from the off side, thus resembling the *chiwezi* who has one half of his body made of wax.

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 91. [2] H. W. H. Beech, 'The Kikuyu conception of God, ethics,' (Man, London, 1914, p. 49-51).
[3] Op. cit., p. 60. [4] British Central Africa, op. cit., p. 98.

3: Shannon D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

Amusements. Among the natives of east central Africa, the chief form of amusement, apart from dancing, might be said to be sitting and chatting. It is interesting to note that there is a word to express "sitting up all night talking." Often the younger members of the community will gather about one of the older men and listen to his stories of travel or fighting in the old days, and some men gain quite a reputation as raconteurs. Or again riddle asking is indulged in to pass the time. Women and girls do not assist at these sittings. 521

Among the Yao youth, wrestling, *ku-lingana* (from *ku-linga*, to try), is practised with a fixed grip and no leg-work; the victor always demonstrates his victory by hitting the man who is down, and pummelling his face with his fist or a stone. 526

A ball game, played originally with a ball of native rubber from which it derives its name, *mpira*, is a great favourite among boys. A dozen or more are divided into sides but all mixed up together. The ball is then thrown into the air to a member of the same side, any of the opposite side jumping into the air to try and catch it, accompanied by the clapping of hands to time.

"Hide-and-seek," *chijwanjwam*, and "touch," *chau ne chambale* (*chijwini*, Chin.), are played by boys.

Chimanga: toward the end of the ball game, when it is decided to finish, each boy as he catches the ball puts it to his nose to smell (*ku-manga*, to smell). He is then "out." At the end of a game of "touch" played in the water, when one touches another, he jumps out of the water, puts his cloth up to his nose "to smell," and is then "out." His cloth may be thrown to him to "smell" while still in the water, after which he gets out without hurry. The object is not to be the last "in." I am unable to explain this custom.

Kusaka-kuwa is played by girls, naked, from "dot" the mohammedan month when nothing may be eaten. 524

Wisolwolwo: the Board and Counter game is played in nearly every Yao village. Dr. Sanderson[1] has given a very complete account of a number of the games played by the several tribes in Nyasaland and I need add nothing to his explanation of the methods of playing.

Similar games are widespread throughout Africa and are well known in the West Coast under the same *mancala*. The several games are played, either simply with holes in the ground and small stones, or with a board and a kind of seed procured from Sansibar. The board is called *mchenchelwa* and the pebbles or seeds or other convenient "counters" *ajimbwa*. Dr. Sanderson uses this word as the name of one of the games. The Angoni call the counters *mamba*. The holes in the board or in the ground (Pl. XXII, fig. 10) are called *ipata* (sing. *chipata*) from *ku-pata*, to strike, beat, or put down with a thud, to "plank down," and refers to the way the counters are "planked down" in the holes on the board when playing. The large counter at the end of the board is simply to hold the counters out of play and is called *nyumba*, "the house," or *kitinda*, "the hole." The counters are

[1] Rendall G. Sanderson, 'Native games of Central Africa,' Journ. Anth. Inst., 1903, vol. 33, p. 134-164.

6: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 FT? Yao FT?

believes that she will die. The man's representatives are therefore able to establish the child's paternity from the birth-pang confessions of the woman.

The child is kept in the hut where it was born, for six or seven days, while the umbilical cord dries and falls off. During this time (*limli*) the child is unnamed, and it is named only when it is taken out of the hut. Should it die during this period of seclusion it remains unnamed and is referred to by a special term (*litepa*, pl. *matepa*). I have therefore been able to enumerate live births by means of the distinction made between miscarriages and still-births (*liwesenge*) and children who lived long enough to be referred to as *matepa*. After the birth of the child the woman may not have intercourse for four or five months. To do so would be to endanger the life of the child with a disease called *ndoka*,[1] which is contracted by a sexually inactive person when he comes into contact with a sexually active person. The husband may have intercourse with a second wife, but must take care to medicate himself so that he does not endanger the life of his child. When the child is about 4 or 5 months of age the parents perform ritual intercourse and medicate the child against the mystical dangers of sexual activity; sexual relations are then resumed.

The Yao say that a second child should not be born while the first is still being suckled. Since lactation continues for about two years I am uncertain whether monogynists remain continent, as they say they do, or whether *coitus interruptus* is practised. It is quite usual for husbands to become labour migrants when their children are still very young. I have known women to write to their husbands who are away working and tell them to return because their children have 'grown', i.e. have been weaned. Labour recruiters had difficulty in recruiting men immediately after the soldiers had been demobilized at the end of the war, because the women objected, saying that they had remained childless long enough and the men must first wait until children were born. However, actual examination of birth-dates shows that children are sometimes born within a year of one another and sometimes there are quite big gaps. The two-year gap between children is probably an ideal which few attain.

5. The Estimation of Fertility

(a) *Sundbarg's Age Division*

As a preliminary estimate of fertility, Sundbarg's trichotomy of ages may be considered. The argument behind this division of the population into Youth, Middle Age, and Old Age is that those populations with a high proportion of youth have a greater tendency to increase. Table V shows this trichotomy for the Yao with the same material for some other populations shown for comparison. Where the gross reproduction-rate is known for the period shown in the table, this is included.

At any one time a certain proportion of the population is absent from the area, usually at some labour centre. Hence the proportions of the population are distributed abnormally. In all there appeared to be a total of sixty-three men, women, and children absent from the hamlets, who would otherwise have been living there. Hence in Table V these have been included in the totals in the 'Yao with absentees' proportions.

[1] A disease of this sort is believed in by many Central African tribes. Among the Nyanja-speaking peoples it is known as *chinjala*.

Table V shows that the age-distribution for the Yao sample is very similar to certain other populations commonly held to have high birth-rates. There appears to be some correlation between the proportion of youth in a population and the gross

TABLE V. *Sundbarg's Age Division*

Population	Year	Youth 0-15	Middle age 15-40	Old age over 40	G.R.R.
Yao*	1946	45·3	43·6	11·0	..
Yao with absentees	1946	42·6	47·4	10·0	..
Bushmen†	1911	42·6	47·7	9·7	..
Hottentots	1911	41·3	47·1	9·6	..
Griquas	1911	42·6	48·3	9·1	..
Malta	1931	39·3	39·2	9·7	..
Japan	1931	36·3	47·9	15·3	1·146
Bulgaria	1926	34·1	48·1	13·1	1·130
Czechoslovakia	1930	28·3	51·1	19·5	1·110
New Zealand	1926	27·3	51·3	21·4	1·104
Denmark	1930	24·0	54·1	21·9	1·048
Sweden	1930	24·4	54·8	20·8	1·063

* There were 25 in the sample whose ages were not known. These were all adults and have been included proportionately in the two adult groups.

† All data for other populations taken from *The League of Nations Statistical Yearbook 1930-31*.

‡ Interpolated between 1930 (1·095) and 1935 (1·155).

reproduction-rate. Judging from the material presented in Table V a high gross reproduction-rate may be expected among the Yao where the proportion of youth is much higher than in the case of those whose gross reproduction-rates are quoted.

(ii) The Proportion of Children under 5 to Women 15-50

Fertility may be judged more accurately than by this rule-of-thumb by considering the proportion of children under 5 to the total number of women between the ages of 15 to 50, i.e. the fertility ratio.[1] In the whole sample there were 147 children under 5 and 150 women between the ages of 15 to 50. This is a ratio of 966 children per 1,000 women. However, women who are going away from the area for a long time, as, for example, wives of men who are going with their husbands to some labour centre, possibly in South Africa or Southern Rhodesia, usually leave their weaned children with their matrilineal relatives. This means that the ratio quoted (966 per 1,000) is, in reality, an over-estimate of the true ratio. In order to arrive at a nearer estimate of the ratio we must consider the children actually born to women in the sample. Table VI classifies all children both dead and surviving born to women between the ages 15 to 55. From this table we address that there were 191 women between the ages 15 to 50 (for whom details were available), and among them they had 141 surviving children under the age of 5. This is a fertility ratio of 738 per 1,000 women. Table VII shows the fertility ratio for 18 countries with their gross reproduction-rate for the same period as the fertility ratio.

[1] It is more usual to take the number of women between 15 and 45, though recently the age-group between 20 and 44 has been used. I have taken the age-limits 15 to 50 because of the early age of marriage, and because it appeared that the average age of cessation of child-bearing is about 50 (see Table VIII). For a discussion of the suitability of this measure of fertility where birth registration is not practised, see F. Lorimer, *Population Problems*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York (1946), p. 198.

pm AN ESTIMATE OF FERTILITY IN SOME YAO HAMLETS IN

Table VI. *Live-born Children, Alive or Dead at Time of Survey, Mothers aged 15 to 55*

162
163

Age of mother at time of survey	Mothers	Alive or Dead	Number of years elapsed since birth of child										Totals	
			0/1	1/2	2/3	3/4	4/5	5/6	6/7	7/8	8/9	9/10		
15-19	9	A	--	1	0	0	--	0	1	0	0	--	2	1
		D	--	--	--	--	--	0	0	--	--	--	0	0
20-24	9	A	--	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	0
		D	--	--	--	--	0	--	--	--	--	--	0	0
25-29	11	A	--	--	--	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
		D	--	--	--	--	0	0	0	--	--	--	0	0
30-34	13	A	--	--	--	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		D	--	--	--	--	--	0	0	0	--	--	0	0
35-39	10	A	--	--	--	--	--	--	0	0	0	0	0	0
		D	--	--	--	--	--	--	0	0	0	--	0	0
40-44	11	A	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0	0	0	0	0
		D	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0	0	0	0	0
45-49	11	A	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0	0	0	0
		D	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0	0	0	0
50-54	10	A	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0	0	0
		D	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0	0	0
55-59	10	A	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0	0
		D	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0	0
Totals	104	A	--	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	1
		D	--	--	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

* Excludes one woman whose children were not in the hamlet on their visits upon which the enumeration was based.

Table VII. *Fertility Ratios and Gross Reproduction rates for Eighteen Countries*

162
163
● 171

Country	Year	Fertility ratio*	G.R.R.
Chile	[illegible]	[illegible]	--
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

* Ratio [illegible] League of Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1939/40. Only those countries which showed gross reproduction rates based on three census data and in which complete age groupings were used.

(199) † Data used for age-limits up to 50 in these calculations.

There is, as one would expect, a close association of the fertility ratio with the gross reproduction-rate. In fact, the product-moment correlation coefficient for this series of data is $+0.98 \pm 0.01$. By fitting a straight line to the series of points it is possible to make an estimate of what we could expect the Yao gross reproduction-rate to be on the basis of a fertility ratio of 718. Where this is done, the expected gross reproduction-rate falls between 2.99 and 3.03.* It is not suggested that this figure is a reliable estimate, since the mortality rate in the first few years of life must affect the association between the two measures. There are almost certainly differences in this respect between the relatively advanced countries, used to derive this estimate, and the people with whom this paper is concerned. This estimate is used here merely to check the estimate of the gross reproduction-rate arrived at by other means, basing such procedure on the assumption that differences in child mortality are not sufficient seriously to upset the correlation.

(c) *The Number of Children born to Mothers*

Table VIII shows the number of children born alive to women in the sample by age-groups. The Culwicks, in their survey of population in Ulanga District in

TABLE VIII. *Numbers of Live-born Children to Women of All Ages*

Age-group	No.	o	No. of live-births									Totals			Rate per woman		
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 or +	♂	♀	♂♀	♂	♀	♂♀
15-19	11	10	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	0.091	0.000	0.091
20-24	24	10	6	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	11	17	0.250	0.458	0.708
25-29	28	1	11	6	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	21	40	61	0.784	1.481	2.259
30-34	22	0	10	8	3	0	0	1	—	—	—	23	53	76	1.045	2.409	3.455
35-39	19	0	5	6	4	0	0	0	0	0	—	17	39	56	0.895	2.053	2.947
40-44	14	0	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	9	22	31	0.643	1.571	2.214
45-49	10	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	4	12	16	0.400	1.200	1.600
50-54	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	0	8	8	0.000	1.000	1.000
55-59	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	0	6	6	0.000	1.000	1.000
60-64	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	0	6	6	0.000	1.000	1.000
65-69	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	0	3	3	0.000	1.000	1.000
70+	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	0	5	5	0.000	1.000	1.000
Total	156	21	39	27	10	1	0	1	0	0	—	81	205	286	0.519	1.314	1.833

* Women live-births. † Yao live-births. ‡ Women live-births. § Yao mothers with one live-births and one with mothers live-births. ¶ Includes six women whose ages are unknown.

Tanganyika Territory, calculated the average number of live births per woman at various ages. These were as follows (Yao figures for comparison):

	Ulanga	Yao
Under 20	0.091	0.091
20-30	0.889	0.667
30-40	2.048	3.862
Over 40	3.273	3.750

This seems to support their conclusion that the birth-rate had suffered during the

* The equation for the regression line is $\bar{X} = \ldots$ † 0.133. A range of two standard errors was used to find estimates.

$r = 0.98 \pm 0.01$, where $\bar{X}$ is the G.R.R. and F the fertility ratio. The standard error of the estimate

4c Mitchell E-8 (1946-1947) 1949 FT7 Yao FT7

last twenty to thirty years, and that it was then returning to normal since the number of live births in the under-50 age-groups agree in the two surveys, but the figure for the over-50 age-groups is substantially lower for the Tanganyika material than for the Yao.

The Culwicks, Pretus, and Schapera have used the number of live females born to women past child-bearing as an indicator of the gross reproduction-rate. It was not possible to record whether the women in this sample had passed the menopause or not. From Table VIII we see that there is no upward trend in live births per woman over the age of 50. We may therefore take this age as representing the age at which child-bearing ceased. There were 43 women over the age of 50 and they had between them borne 133 live females. This is an average of 3·13 per female. This differs substantially from the figure that the Culwicks arrive at in their study, viz. 1·56.[1] It agrees, however, with the estimates made for the Tallensi (3·1)[2] and for the Tswana (2·74).[3]

There are, however, some serious objections to the use of this figure as a measure of the prevailing gross reproduction-rate. First, it does not take into account those mothers who did not survive the child-bearing period. If it is only the most fecund who die before menopause, we are, in fact, dealing with a sample which is unrepresentative, in that the least fecund are automatically selected. The opposite may also be true, of course, but the fact remains that such an estimate is based on an unrepresentative sample of mothers. Second, it represents the average fertility prevailing over the last fifty or sixty years. If there has been a large change in the fertility at some time during this period, this is included in the average and obscures the rate which prevails now. For example, the material presented by the Culwicks shows that the gross reproduction-rate must be higher than 1·56. The low figure in this case, they suggest, is caused by the famine which followed a rebellion in 1906.

(d) A More Direct Estimate of Fertility

In order to arrive at a figure which would reflect conditions prevailing more recently, a series of tables was constructed, which showed (according to my census sheets) the number of children born in each year between 1917 and 1946, and the number of women in the different five-year age-groups for each of those years. Hence each woman who appeared in the first year (1917) was also counted in 1918. As each new year was considered some had turned 50 and were excluded, and others had turned 15 and were included. Therefore a gross reproduction-rate was calculated for each year from 1917 to 1946. These rates were averaged by adding together the number of women shown in each five-year age-group for five years and adding the number of children born during those five years, and by dividing to arrive at average specific fertility rates. The five-year averages were as follows:

1917-21	4·18	1932-6	2·93
1922-6	3·33	1937-41	3·22
1927-31	3·12	1942-6	2·83

There appears to have been a definite trend in this series, falling from the end of the

[1] The total of 133 children per woman was divided by 2 in order to arrive at the number of females per woman.

[2] M. Fortes, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[3] I. Schapera, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

?: Hetherwick M-S (ca. 1906) 1912 FT? Yao FT?

evidence. On the appointed day the dancer, *kapina mandu*, to dance the spirits, or *kamwandu*, to rave or prophesy, and in the ravings of the dance she calls out the name of some party who is afterwards accused of being the cause or witch. Followed by a crowd of excited spectators she dances through the village spear in hand, stopping here and there to dig up charms or medicines which the supposed witch has buried in the ground as the instruments of his occult practices. It is only in cases of supposed special difficulty, or when the magnitude of the supposed crimes demands that special measures be adopted for their detection, that the services of such a witch detective are called in. In ordinary cases these appeals are made to the divining oracle who consults his "bwa" as a means of discovering crimes of this nature.

Among the Yaos the human being is believed to be the sole possessor of a *limbo*. I have been unable to discover any trace of a theory that the *limbo* may pass into any animal or inanimate object and thus confer upon it the nature or power of a *lisimbo*. Such belief is cherished among the Angoni and Achewa tribes to the westward by Nyasa and the upper Shire River, and the intelligent Yao is aware of this, but he states that among his people no such belief exists. Even charms which have the effect of healing or warding off disease, or of protecting the wearer from war or wild beasts or other danger by land or water, are supposed to possess this power without any idea of their being possessed by a *limbo* or other spirit influence. The nearest approach to such a theory is in the case of certain powerful "doctors" who have obtained special medicine by means of which, at death, they can transform themselves into lions, leopards, crocodiles, etc. Lepers also are sometimes supposed to become *lisyupetani*. But both of these cases must be regarded rather as transmutations of body than transmigrations of soul.

It will be thus seen that the nature of the human *limbo* is closely allied to that of the *mandu*, which are the inspiring agents in madness and in the ecstasy of prophecy or incantation. What the origin of these inspiring *mandu* is, or to whom they belonged when in bodily life, the Yao holds no theory. He is content to accept them as they are, *mandu tuyo*, "just *mandu* and nothing more," as he says.

It is, however, when we follow the disembodied *limbo* after death and consider its position and power in the other world that we find ourselves in a region of higher spiritual activities.

In dreams or in fainting fits the *limbo* leaves the body but only to return to it with the awakening consciousness. At death, however, it leaves its earthly abode never to return. It is now spoken of as having gone to *malonga* or *mlonga*. This word, which lies at the basis of all Yao theories of the place of the soul after death, will be dealt with later on as regards its derivation and connections in the Bantu family of languages. In its actual use it bears two significations.

1. The word *malonga* is in the first instance applied to the human soul or *limbo* after death when it is considered as an inhabitant of the spirit world. Even in life a man, when he meets with any piece of good luck, will be heard to say, "It's my *malonga*," as if his soul had an influence in determining the character of his

Nilsson T-5 (ca. 1960) 1969 FTI Tau FTI
[P 187 C]

18: Sanderson D-5 (ca. 1925)1922 FTT Yao FTT

A Note on Ceremonial Purification among the Wa'Yao, Nyasaland. 55

By Wyndham Sanderson, M.B.C.S., F.R.G.S.

One of the effects of European influence in Africa is the breaking up of tribal organization and discipline. The rights of the individual being no longer subordinated to the common good, customs formerly observed by the village community as a whole die out, while those affecting the individual are still practised.

This tendency is well seen in the ancient ceremonies of purification among the Wa'Yao which are now rarely performed collectively, though the rules, however lightly "observed," still goes to the doctor to obtain the necessary medicines for observing, for instance, the contamination caused by contact with a corpse.

These collective ceremonies have already been described by various writers in respect of both Nyasaland and elsewhere,[1] but the Yao rites have not, I think, been given in detail, and the following notes may not, therefore, be altogether valueless.

The *Pyapila* ceremony (*kupyapila*, "to sweep") is common to most Bantu tribes. In the simplest form it used to be performed annually by the Wa'Yao, at the beginning of the twelfth month, most of the months (lunar) being kept by means of a "calendar."[2] The whole village is thoroughly "spring-cleaned," all rubbish

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* At this, where the game is played on full moon nights in the morning, Father Hornsby says (p. 46) the song in Nyanja runs:—

Yaso, yaso, ganizo to-night.
Yaso, yaso, they come.

Yaso, yaso, where are mats.
Yaso, yaso, I shall not be there any more.

Words repeated, presumably, to the bitter end.

1 Sir Harry Johnston, K.C., "The Daily Telegraph," pp. 1920 (or), 5-5-22. Annual Report, Nyasa (p. 46) American Missionary, 1894.

2 Fraser, "British Central Africa," II., 178, 180.

3 A "calendar" consists of a string tied to two pegs in the wall of the house, or between two poles, on which are threaded twelve pieces of reed, bamboo or sometimes [illegible] carried in the other end of the string each time a new month is seen.